

industry, done their part on the farm, in the mines, and wherever else they have found employment. I quote from an address I delivered a few months ago in Alabama:

During the nineteenth century cotton has been the largest single article of exportation from the United States. There has been more cotton exported than any other single commodity, although in 1898 the exportation of wheat and flour nearly equaled that of cotton. In spite of the marvelous increase in our exports of manufactures, cotton still holds first place, forming one-sixth of all our exports in 1899 and one-third of all of them in 1891.

During the last decade we have exported about thirty billion pounds of cotton, valued at more than two and one-quarter billions of dollars, and indications point to a large increase over these figures during the coming ten years. The United States has been the chief source of supply of the cotton mills of the world, because this country produces many times the amount of cotton produced in all other countries of the globe.

Upon the basis of the cotton production of the United States depend the cotton manufacturing industries of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy. The average number of bales of cotton produced during the decade from 1890 to 1899 was 8,735,000 bales. In 1860 the capital employed in cotton manufacture was \$98,585,000; number of operatives, 122,028; amount paid in wages, \$23,940,000. In 1890 the capital employed in cotton manufacture was \$354,000,000; number of operatives, 221,585; amount paid for wages, \$69,489,000.

The slave population of the Southern States was, in 1860, slightly less than 4,000,000; the colored population of the same States in 1890 was in round numbers 6,500,000.

Under slavery the negro was the agricultural laborer; since the abolition of slavery there has been a movement of colored population to cities and towns, but, according to the Census of 1890, the city and town population of colored people was but 15 per cent of the whole, leaving 85 per cent yet on the farms. Taking into consideration that the number of white farm laborers has increased since the abolition of slavery, the fact yet remains that four out of every five farm laborers are colored people.

The average annual production of corn, wheat, and oats in the former slave States for the decade 1880 to 1889 was in round numbers:

Corn	620,000,000 bushels
Wheat	73,000,000 bushels
Oats	97,000,000 bushels

Since the Negro performs four-fifths of the labor connected with the cotton and other crops of the former slave States, his share of the average annual production for the decade 1890-99 would be 6,988,000 bales per annum, valued at \$209,640,000.

In the decade from 1889-99 Negro labor produced an annual average of 496,000,000 bushels of corn, valued at \$148,800,000; 58,400,000 bushels of wheat, valued at \$46,720,000, and 77,000,000 bushels of oats valued at \$26,100,000, making a grand total of \$431,620,000 in these four articles alone.

The South would be very unimportant should this sum be subtracted from her contribution to the wealth of the Republic.

If the entire cotton acreage were comprised in a single area, it would equal about 40,000 square miles; of this

area colored labor cultivates 32,000 square miles.

From the the above citation of facts, the following conclusions are deduced:

First—That cotton is the principal agricultural product of the former slave States.

Second—That it constitutes the largest single article of the export trade of the entire country, and hence is the basis of our immense and constantly growing trade with foreign countries. The sale of our cotton abroad has opened the foreign market to our other products, both agricultural and manufactured.

Third—That the cotton manufacturing interests of the United States and of a number of foreign countries are based upon the cotton produced in our Southern States, whereby millions of capital find profitable investment and millions of laborers employment.

The dependence of foreign cotton manufacturing interests upon our cotton supply was illustrated during our civil war when "the blockade of the Southern cotton ports by Federal gunboats produced a terrible crisis in the thriving towns of Lancashire and Manchester, reduced to penury thousands of operatives all over the world, shook the foundations of the cotton markets of Europe, and created a cotton famine which affected the welfare and comforts of millions."

Fourth—That the very foundation of this cotton production which has such far-reaching and important ramifications in trade, commerce, and industry is the Negro laborer.

His treatment, comfort, education, and well-being should therefore be an object of deep solicitude and consideration. As a free laborer he has been more productive than as a slave. As an educated laborer, with the knowledge of the scientific methods of farming and the handling of improved machinery, his usefulness, as a factor in the prosperity of this country and the expansion of its trade, will be incalculable.

Can the welfare of the South spare him? Can it retain its present importance in the commercial world with him elsewhere? I trow not, and I firmly believe a vast majority of the people of this country are with me in this opinion.

The interest of the South demands that he stay. The millions of factory operatives in the North and in Europe demand that he stay, and his own best interest will be conserved by staying. But all must unite in asking that he be accorded fair play. Fair play in the courts, fair play in business, and an equal chance in the race of life.

If he is charged with crime, try him before a jury—shall I say his peers? Well, if not his peers, citizens of his State.

He is never on the bench; hardly ever seen on the jury, and scarcely ever exercises much influence at the bar; so there is no danger of sympathy overdoing its part in his behalf. If the courts thus constituted cannot be trusted by those who constitute them, who can trust them? Give him justice in all walks of life; it will benefit him and enoble the giver. Society binds every member to the defense and protection of every other member. The right of individual self-defense is pooled and surrendered to the State when that corporate entity is established, and it can no more allow an infringement of personal rights than it can be indifferent to armed resistance menacing its sovereignty. For, if it neglects its bounden duty to the natural person, it will inevitably find those of the sovereign artificial person also

seriously questioned and, perchance, hopelessly imperiled.

The States must do their duty in the suppression of all manner of lawlessness, for this is their primary object. They were built for that purpose, and we support and maintain them that they may perform their duty. The prosperity of the people requires that their sway should be undisputed and the happiness of every citizen hinges upon the obedience of all to the laws of the Commonwealth. I plead not for the life of the malefactor, who in his degenerate and depraved state may have perpetrated a crime that shocks humanity and produces universal indignation. He is of little or no concern; but I am concerned that the established institutions of the State should prove equal to the occasion and prevent all manner of disorder.

In this connection I wish to quote from the Richmond (Va.) News, a Democratic paper, but sound to the core for law and order and the suppression of mob violence. Says the News:

"We are sickened by reading of a Negro criminal put to death by slow fire in Texas—a method imitative of Apache Indians at the their worst—and of an old man burned in his own home, and all Negroes being chased from towns in Missouri, including a number of entirely respectable citizens of that race. Dispute the smug declarations that the race problem will work itself, made by those who wish to elude the trouble of considering a very complicated question, the race conditions are worse than they were twenty-five years ago. The burning of human beings by white men was then unheard of. Now it is a custom, and the newspapers have ceased to discuss it. Our people have become hardened to the horror. We are destroying our instincts of civilization and putting ourselves on the level of the vilest savages.

"State sovereignty is the most valuable principle of our Government and should be maintained at all hazards. Yet if the States continue to permit horrors like those in Texas and Missouri, it will be a serious question with thinking people whether the general Government should not be asked to interfere even if an amendment to the Constitution should be required. It may be better to impair a great principle than to bring up our children to regard the burning and slow torture to death of men by mobs as the common and proper method of punishing crime. Such acts revenge themselves gradually but surely. The race guilty of them suffers more in the end, by degradation and loss of civilization, than the race that is the victim of them."

To this I say AMEN!

The nation has in the last few days been incomparably shocked by the atrocious act of an assassin, who has, without a shadow of excuse, struck down the first and most beloved man of the age.

The world mourns his demise, and justly, for he was the gentlest, tenderest, and bravest of men. For the betterment of his fellow-man; for the exaltation of the citizenship of his country, none worked harder, none labored more incessantly. For, when he had power, he used it to stay anarchy and mob violence; when he did not possess this authority he exerted his great influence upon all whom he could reach to erect even a more permanent foundation for peace and order by convincing his countrymen that it paid better to follow the beaten paths of the law.

How better, then, can we show our love and respect for the great McKinley than to take his injunction to the horrified citizens who surrounded him immediately after the foul murderer had given him his death stroke—when he cried out, with almost the forgiveness of the Master of mankind who expired on the cross, "Let no one harm him!"

As he pleaded then, let those of us who survive the martyred President work now—not for the criminal—away with him—but for the absolute supremacy of the law!

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